1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

"No longer sad, for Allah will no longer shut us out from the blessings of His heaven." 731x

At this moment we saw Amir Fuaz with his mounted bodyguard ride past. They saw us also and came over and sat down in the tent.

In the course of the conversation, Faris said to the young Amir: "Let Aziz and me travel to thy enemies and treat with them. If they give in and share their pastureland with us, the French will then make no objections." [648]

With some anger the young Amir fixed his eyes on Faris and cried: "We shall act, but no longer treat with them. We shall take what we want of our enemy's pasturage. Without forage there can be no camels, and without camels no life for us. Hast thou not perceived that?" [233]

"I understand," said Faris, in his gentle way. "Is it then no longer a custom with us that one may beg his life, even of the enemy when compelled by need? Truly the path of peace is shorter than the long road on which lurks destruction." [577]

Fuaz did not answer—and all the others in the tent held their peace. Suddenly, however, the young Prince got up, strode over to the slave who was watering his mare from a goatskin, mounted and rode away.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

nothing in common with those worthy camel and sheep raiders who ride *dhaluls* and mares, and whose exploits are somewhat in the nature of knightly enterprises.

Faris and I exchanged glances and stealthily groped under our cloaks on the ground for our rifles.

Now I could take my courage in my hands and speak to our uninvited visitors.

"What do you want of us?"

"God knows."

"And how did you get here?"

"From over there."

"And where are you going?"

"Over there."

"What tribe do you belong to?"

"The Beni Adam" (Children of Adam).

The replies sounded impudent and dangerous; but we were used to desert ways. By their ambiguous replies, the strangers stamped themselves as ordinary robbers. Had they responded to my questions more openly, they would have made themselves and their tribe responsible for our safety (or our death). We could then either have removed our headgear or in some way have touched one of them, and thereupon claimed their protection. Even to spit on a man (a truly singular way of "touching") and thus call on his protection is permissible and efficacious enough to save one's life, if not at the same time one's property.

These fellows had no use for the honoured customs of the Arabs. They were responsible to no one and would kill us in cold blood. Why they held back was incomprehensible.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

623 and the idea came to me at once that he would try to
728 ambush us on our return journey.
619 After the coffee-cup had circled once more, Ibn Meheyd leaned back on his cushions and said solemnly:

"O ye assembled ones! It is our wish to keep peace with the Ruala. But it is God's will that there is war between Fuaz ibn-Sha'lan, Tra'd ibn-Milhem (Chief of the Wuld'Ali) and our *shiyukhs*. We decree therefore that there be peace between the tribes, but war between the chieftains."

Thereupon Ibn Meheyd offered me his hand. I grasped it and thanked him and the others in the conclave for their willingness to share their grazing-grounds during the coming summer with the Ruala and Wuld'Ali and for allowing the peoples to live side by side in neighbourly amity. I also expressed my hope that the belligerent chieftains would also soon conclude peace among themselves.

It would have been useless to waste more words on the healing of the breach between the *shiyukhs*. If Ibn Meheyd fulfilled their promise of peace between the tribes, I could be more than content with the result of my journey. It would be no less than a miracle.

619 It was still dark when I was roused from sleep by the
728 clatter of cooking utensils. The cook was just putting
577 his water-pots on the glowing fire. Enveloped in its acrid smoke, by the threshold, stood the old mare that had carried me to this tent after the conference. I stepped into the open. It was still night, but the stars were paling and in the east the greenish-grey of dawn mantled the

I: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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desert as with a fine veil. Between the tent-ropes lay our host's camels, chewing the cud. Beyond them spread the softly undulating steppe, and a wonderful fragrance exhaled from it. Everywhere was a stillness and a peace which filled me with awe.

But where were the tents and the herds that at midnight had covered the whole neighbourhood?

I ran into the open a little way and looked about. Far and wide no other tent. Our black shelter lay like a derelict ship on the ocean.

A curious feeling of loneliness came on me for the first time in my life among the Arabs. I had been left with a few companions only, where the evening before thousands had camped round us. Silently the Bedouins had broken camp and they—their women, their children, and their animals—had melted away like a mirage; I could not understand it all.

"Faris! Mijhem!" I called and went to wake the sleepers. Sheykh Nauaf-es-Saleh, in whose tent we had slept, also appeared. I took his hand and asked:

"What does this mean?"

"What doth it mean, thou askest?" he replied. "Ibn Meheyd never breaks his word. The promise he made thee last night he fulfils even this morning."

Ibn Meheyd had evacuated his grazing-grounds to make room for the Ruala!

Nauaf pointed to a group of persons some distance away, now visible in the stronger light. They seemed to be resting, just about where Ibn Meheyd's tent had stood the previous evening.

We rode over and found Ibn Meheyd himself, with

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

six men of his bodyguard. They rested on their rugs, Bedouin-fashion, on crossed legs. Beside them was a heap of dead ashes and the three soot-blackened stones on which last night the cook-pots had stood. A brass brazier shed a little warmth, comforting in the chill of the morning. Ibn Meheyd sat holding the wide sleeves of his cloak over it.

He stood up at our approach and, when I had dismounted, he came up to me and put his arm paternally round my shoulders. "My son," said he pleasantly, "dost thou see that Ibn Meheyd has been true to his promise?"

His eyes said more than the few words. I seized his right hand and pressed it gratefully in both my hands. "May God grant thee all thou wishest!" I said in farewell.

"Come to visit me this summer," he called after me, "and pitch thy tent with the Fid'an. Thou art indeed a Rueyli, but we count thee also as one of us. God be with thee wherever thou goest!"

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

152 609 under him. Argument was useless; I could do only one thing, appeal to his Bedouin sense of honour. "These men whom thou dost behold," I said, "have wholly refrained from shedding blood. And they have accompanied me in the confidence that thou wouldst grant them freedom and safety, for the sake of the friendship between thee and me."

The young *sheykh* had no word of reply for me, but his eyes spoke eloquently enough. They were full of hate and unbridled fury. Spasmodically he wheeled his poor mare in circles around me, himself driven by the pent-up storm within. I cried out to him at last to master his wrath and be his true self. Suddenly, he cantered back to his camel-riders, waiting some distance away. I felt with instinctive certainty that the fit of rage was over, and that my Fid'an wards were safe. In spite of all, I could not help admiring him. Fuaz might have said to [577] me: "Forget, Aziz, that you intended to put these robbers under my protection." But I had uttered the word *dakhil* (protection in the sight of God) in my appeal. No human ears had heard it except Fuaz's and mine, yet God had heard; and that was binding on a Bedouin conscience—even that of a robber chief.

609 I assured the Fid'an that Amir Fuaz had taken them under his protection, and they had immediate confirmation of this when they saw the Ruala riders dismount and proceed to make camp. The Fid'an in their place [576] followed suit. For reasons of ceremony, I remained with them for the time being. Presently Fuaz, accompanied by some of his men, strolled over and sat down by the Fid'an campfire. Nobody could have guessed from his

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

manner that there had been any trouble. He was perfectly calm and thanked his enemies for their companionship and protection of me on my journey. 609

Only after coffee had made the rounds was there any mention of the Fid'an losses. The Ruala fire had cost them two mares and two *dhaluls*. Fuaz at once declared they should be recompensed by six of his best racing-camels. He was under no obligation to make any restitution; but the magnanimity of an Arab *sheykh* demands such acts of bounty. 627 577

When the two strangely assorted companies separated on the following morning, Fuaz took the precaution of attaching one of his body-slaves to the Fid'an. He was to see them to the first rise of the Abu Rijmeyn, well beyond the Ruala territory. 609 [486]

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

XXVI

The Stealing of the Mare

721 AMIR FUAZ HAD not brought his tribesmen to al-Hajal for the purpose of routing out marauding Fid'an. The encounter with them was accidental. The object of the Ruala *ghazu* (raid) was the recovery of a blood mare which the Saba had "lifted" a short time before. Falha, the "Luckbringer", as she was called, was of the best strain in Arabia and famed throughout the land. As soon as Fuaz learned that she had been taken, he dis- [435] patched Mnahi to the Saba with an offer of forty camels for her restitution—an exceedingly high value to put on a mare. But the Saba declined the offer. The only al- [425] ternative to buying back Falha, as the Saba well knew, would be taking her back by force; and Fuaz honourably informed them that such was his intention. This did not amount to a declaration of war. It was rather a [517] knightly challenge, and the rules of the game involved the tacit understanding that no blood should be shed unnecessarily on either side.

Fuaz's scouts—*Iyun*, the "eyes", the Bedouins call them—had tracked the mare to a Saba encampment in the vicinity and had thoroughly reconnoitered its surroundings. They had discovered that the Saba camels and horses, including Falha, were grazing under the guard of only a few youths, in a depression several miles away from the main camp, some seventy tents strong.

Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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This disposition gave Fuaz twofold satisfaction. It would facilitate the execution of his plan to recover his mare by stratagem and confirmed his assumption that the Saba did not reckon with the possibility of a Ruala raid so soon, as very little rain had fallen in that region and travel therefore was still very difficult. They probably thought that the Ruala would not venture so far into the inner Hamad until much later, when water and pasture would be plentiful. It was clear at all events that, for the time being, Falha's keepers felt themselves quite secure. Furthermore, if a skirmish proved unavoidable, the fighting would be away from the Saba tents, for Bedouins of noble lineage consider it barbarous to engage the enemy near their own camp. They believe that only the Turks, the "Franks" (Europeans) and the rulers of agricultural Arabia wage war in such a way as to endanger the women and children.

[577]

[186]

Luck favoured Fuaz's designs from beginning to end. We broke camp early in the morning and a few hours later circled round the pasture where the Saba horses were. Then we wheeled and got between them and the camp. The whole movement was made smoothly and without contact with our opponents. But now their outposts sighted our troop and sought to evade us and carry word to the camp. Our camel-riders easily caught the fugitives, who stopped when a few shots were fired over their heads and let themselves be taken without attempting any defence. They were mere boys, fourteen to sixteen years of age. In rough jest, their captors cut off some of their long plaits and with these bound them

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1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

to him and to the Ruala than all the rest of the horses put together. We now began in turns, two men at a time, to file through the iron shackles. When we had finished that task, Amir Fuaz kissed his mare's hoofs with joy. 721

Falha, feeling her freedom, commenced to prance and neigh while I held her by the halter. I begged Amir Fuaz to tie her to the saddle of my camel, so that I might lead her home. "Ride her!" he replied, and explained that we must mount the captured horses in order to get as far away from the enemy as possible in the shortest space of time. So I jumped on Falha's back and galloped off with my friends to where the camel-riders with the prisoners were awaiting us.

In all, the Ruala had seized twenty-three mares. As we bade farewell to the Saba herders, one of them, a young lad, stepped up to Amir Fuaz and cried: 721 577

"*Ayb*"—"Shame on thee!"

"Who art thou?" asked the young Prince.

"Jaza ibn Ajlán."

"And what is thy desire?"

"Behold—only with tears can I water Freyha (the Joybringer) when thou takest her away, and she will not again have the milk of her Naga (Milch-camel), and Simiha (the Soft-one) and Nauma (the Sleepy-one) and her daughters will also mourn for her."

Amir Fuaz appreciated the lad's grief for his lost mares and asked him further:

"And how old are Simiha and Nauma?"

"Simiha is one summer old and Nauma two. But see, Freyha is again in foal!"

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

721
●577 "And therefore thou would'st have back the mother of thy foals?"

"Not because of that, but because it is a shame that thou shouldst steal the *wool*-shackled mares from our pastures."

"Did I not honourably warn you?"

"We trusted thy word, which only referred to Falha, and therefore we shackled her with *steel;* all the other mares had only *woollen* shackles."

Amir Fuaz looked thoughtfully into the distance and, as was his habit, toyed with his hair-plaits. Then, twisting one of the locks round his index finger, he stared the young Saba straight in the eyes.

"Thou art daring. But thou speakest the truth and I am not offended. Now I understand why Falha alone wore iron shackles. Therefore I will reward thy trust. Falha is our booty; take back what belongs to thee."

The Prince ordered his men to dismount from the captured mares and return them to the Saba. He also commanded Mnahi to take the plaits cut from the heads of the young Saba from his saddlebag, into which he had stuffed them as souvenirs, and throw them away.

522 As Fuaz noticed me sitting peacefully and satisfied on Falha, he burst out laughing and cried:

"Allah Karim!—God is benevolent! Look at Aziz. First he comes on a raid against us, then we capture him, and now he rides home on our best mare."

Ali, my gallant protector, who stood near, took up the joke:

"Amir Fuaz will permit me to say that one must

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

watch Aziz carefully, or he may flee to your enemies with Falha."

"Allah give him strength," said Fuaz. "He rides with the panthers and the falcons!"

"With the lions!" was Ali's improvement.

Despite their show of cheerfulness, I could see that it went hard with the Ruala tribesmen to watch the Saba ride off with the captured mares. But no one uttered a word of complaint against the magnanimous gesture of the chief, for generosity is held to be the highest virtue amongst the Bedouins.

So we started on our long ride to the home camp, and eleven days later rested again under the hospitable roof of Nuri Sha'lan's dwelling.

183, 486, 572, 577, 609, 627, 672, 696

[See all of the above categories for various aspects of protection and countenance as practiced by the Rwala.]

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[For poems depicting qualities valued and admired by the Rwala and great deeds of men see category 116, pp. 473-488.]

CHAPTER V

FOOD

261 All the Rwala are familiar with hunger and fear it, since they know that it is difficult for the hungry to overcome those who have eaten their fill. They have a saying: "The attack of the sated on the hungry is very vile, *fatt aš-šab'ân 'ala-l-ǧê'ân fatten žûwi.*" But nobody can see hunger, and therefore nobody can deride a hungry man as easily as one who is naked or insufficiently clothed. If a man comes half-naked to his true friend, it grieves him, for either the man has been robbed or else he pays no heed to the dictates of decency; hence the saying: "Go hungry to your friend, but do not go naked to him; *it rafîžak ǧê'ân w-lâ ta'tîh 'arijân.*"

261 771 The Rwala know that Heaven is the abode of God who looks after them and supplies them with food, while the human enemy, who begrudges them everything, inhabits the earth upon which we walk. A father often reminds his son: "He who provides thee with everything dwells in Heaven; he who hinders thee dwells on the earth upon which thou walkest; *razzâk bes-sema' w-al-ḥâsed bel-waṭa'.*" It is useless to be overanxious about the things for which all long. On every occasion Allâh cries out to man: "O my servant, thou hast desires and I have desires, but all thou canst do is to carry out the things that I desire; *jâ 'abdi ent trîd w-ana-rîd w-lâ lak illa mâ-rîd.*" Man therefore comforts himself with the proverb: "I desire, but Allâh will nevertheless carry out what he desires; *ana-rîd w-allâh ja'mal mâ jerîd.*"

261 577 609 Hunger forces a man to theft. To take from an enemy or a stranger all that he has is not a sin, but to steal anything from a neighbor or fellow tribesman is a sin, and Allâh does not bless the thing that He has forbidden, *mâ bârak allâh bel-ḥarâm.*

264 The Rwala eat regularly twice a day. Their main and most abundant meal is supper, *'aša.* They have this meal after sunset. Shortly before noon there is lunch, *ġada'*, at which they merely drink milk or eat what is left of supper or a piece of bread from the previous day, *bâjet.* Only for im-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831 ✓
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Such are the reports I have heard of thee—
And, by Allâh himself! I am at peace.
Be gone, be gone, so that my eyes may never perceive thee,
O thou, whom the mere sighting of the enemy turns to flight.

[577]
[513]

A maiden rejects her lover for hiding like a coward during a raid. *Śîḥa* is a plain covered with *šîḥ* growing as high as sixty centimeters, so that a man lying in it cannot be seen. *Mžejjilen* is one who likes to rest in the hottest hours of the day, from one to three o'clock in the afternoon. *Edd* for *ruḥ*, away. *Ẓîḥa* is the first sight of the enemy.

Jâ wenneti wennet aṭ-ṭentên
ṛâdi waladhen maflâhen
en rawwaḥen jeẓ'ažen ṣourtên
w-en eḳbel al-lejl betnâhen
'alejk jâ žâdel al-ḳarnên
ḳalbi šfûḳen limâtâhen.

This is my lament, like the lament of two she-camels
Whose calf is lost in the pasture.
When they come back for the night, they wail with two voices.
Even when it grows dark and their legs are tied.
O thou, whose hair is plaited into two tresses,
My heart pities thee because of their meetings.

A youth warns the girl he loves, but who does not return his affection, that her lover has others beside her. If the Bedouins want to milk a she-camel whose young is a weakling, they kill the calf at birth and put another in its place. Both mothers now take this calf for their own, caring for and nursing it. When such a young camel gets lost in the pasture, either by falling into a pit or becoming the prey of a wild beast, both mothers wail day and night for a long time.

'Azzâk jâ barḳen jelûḥ
wara-ṭ-ṭawîl ṣowbaha
jâ ḥejf jâ 'ašîreti
wa'-l-mubreẓa 'ajjaw baha.

May Allâh comfort thee! The lightning flashed
Beyond aṭ-Ṭawîl, whither she wanders.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Ḏalaf means "went abroad either to work for wages or on business" — for example, to work as a driver of camels bought by the ʿAḳejl. The wife of the absent man left his tent to return to her kin, whose tent was pitched on the very border of the camp.

Jâ ṣâḥebi w-an-nebi mâ-ḳfejt
w-lâ-ṭrejt ana-l-bowḳ min ḥîni
ṛaṣb ʿalejje jâ-l-ṛaẓi ǧaẓẓejt
darben ʿala-ẓ-ẓîž ḥâdîni.

O my beloved, by Allâh himself, I am not untrue to thee!
From the very beginning never have I thought of treachery.
Against my will, O my desired! as I told thee,
By a road leading to distress he drives me.

The second cousin or another near relative, *eben al-ʿamm*, presses his own claim on the girl. She apologizes to her lover. *W-an-nebi* is a very common saying, used even by the Christians. *Aḳfaʾ* signifies a fighter who in fear turns his horse around. To this, special blame is attached, as he thus betrays his comrades and exposes them to greater danger. *Min ḥîn* means "from the very beginning"; *lâ-ṭrejt al-bowḳ*, "no thought of treachery has occurred to me"; *ṛaẓi*, "the desired, the one eagerly expected"; *aṛẓi*, "I long for, I wish for." *Ǧaẓẓejt*, for *ḥačejt* or *ṣiḥet*. A *ḥâdi* is a camel driver.

Mišerfe jâ ḥajâti
nâdîni ṛadejt
laʿan abu min jerodd
ʿan alli baṛejt.

Mišerfe, thou life of mine,
Call me, for I have lost my way.
Cursed be the father of him who keeps me
From what I desire.

In a dark night the lover, in a terrain unknown to him and cut up by numerous gullies, cannot find the spot agreed on for the meeting with his sweetheart; he also curses her folk, who will not allow him to come to their tent.

1. *Jâ wenneti wennet baʿrîn telle*
biḥowî eben ʿâmerteʿat ajjâm beʿḳâl

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER X

POETRY

POETS AND POETICAL COMPOSITION

The Rwala love to hear, recite, and compose poems, which they call *ḳaṣâjed* (sing., *ḳaṣîde*). A verse is called *ḳâf*. It usually consists of two halves, the first being *nuṣṣ al-ḳâf* and the second, which is always rhymed, *âḫer al-ḳâf*, being *ḳâf at-tâli*. The poet says of himself: "I composed a poem, *ḳaṣatt* or *ḳilt al-ḳaṣîde*." Sometimes a poet will not say that he composed (a poem), *ḳaṣad*, but merely that he uttered (a poem), *ḳâl*. The audience say to the poet: "Reveal us thy poem, *ebdaha 'alejna*." If a begging poet comes to a chief in whose honor he has composed a poem, he begins by saying: "There are a few words, O chief! which I should like to disclose to thee, O long-living one! *endi ĕlêmât jâ šejḫ abṛi ebdiha 'alejk jâ ṭawîl al-'omr*." "Out with it! *hâtah*." And the poet in a nasal voice begins to recite his poem. The first words he blurts out, the next he half swallows, and the last he utters in a falsetto. If the chief likes the poem, its author gets a reward. The begging poets are not held in much esteem, being reproached for their insatiability, for their disregard of honesty in praising even scamps for a reward, and also because they lie and steal. They steal the ideas, sentences, and even whole verses of others. It often happens that the hearers assail such a poet with the words: "Thou liest. Thou stolest it from So-and-So!" The poet defends himself, calling on others to be his witnesses, but the confidence of his hearers is gone, and they say: "A poet is a liar, *ḳaṣṣâd kaḏḏâb*." When the poet learns that his composition or some of his verses are claimed by somebody else, he complains to the chiefs or even in the courts, but they all refuse to listen on the ground that a poet cannot be trusted.

On hearing a new poem the Bedouins inquire its author's name, *limin hâḏi*. An anonymous poem is called *maġhûla*.

A poem is but rarely written down. As a rule the poet's friends learn it by heart, and others learn from them. Every Bedouin knows several poems but hardly ever the whole of

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Then the chief must send some one to the persons named to find out whether such is the case. If the messenger comes back with a report that the traveler has spoken the truth, the chief is obliged to return to him everything of which he has been robbed. Should he fail to do so he would dishonor his countenance, and his disgrace would spread all over the desert, with the result that his tribe, ashamed of the affair, would depose him.

To refuse his countenance or protection to any one is a disgrace, as it is, likewise, to ask for a reward when granting it; for the face must remain clean, must not be stained with any dirt *al-waǧh naẓîf mâ jaršâh ad-danas.*

The famous Rwejli warrior Fhejd eben Ma'abher had his camp in the Damascus territory, and yet he successfully protected a Šammar woman who appealed to the protection of his face. She camped with her husband in Neǧd by the valley of ar-Rma'. Her husband, becoming angry with her for some reason, began to beat her. Then she started to cry:

"Jâ fhejd jâ ba'ad ḥajji." Thus young women call for protection, the meaning of the words being that the woman will submit to her protector in everything. Her husband was not a little surprised at that:

"Tell me, my comrades, how can my wife call on Fhejd when he camps a month's journey from us? *tenḥa 'alejje fhejd w-hw msâfet šahr zamânen 'anna.*"

Yet some 'Aḳejl camel buyers just then in camp heard the Šammar woman's cries and spoke about it in the various camps to which their business brought them, the report of the incident finally reaching Fhejd himself. Ordering his slaves and fellow tribesmen to assemble for a raid, he rode around the Nefûd on the east and in about twenty-five days reached the camp where the woman was living. There Fhejd declared that he would harm no one if they showed him the husband's tent. When they showed him both the tent and the man, Fhejd set his she-camel running, stabbed the man with his spear in the thigh, and said to him:

"Thou filthy beast, didst doubt that thy wife has my protection? If thou harmest her again, I will kill thee." After this Fhejd returned to his people, meeting them in the Sirḥân depression.

If it is a matter of common knowledge that the head chief has lent a traveler his face or if the latter is accom-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

result, three *ḫawi* suffice for protection against all the 'Aneze 486
from Aleppo to the Nefûd and from the Sirḥân depression 572
to the river Tigris, *lehom waǧh wâḥeḍ*. 576

With the Šammar it is altogether different. There the 619
most reliable face is furnished by a man either of the Sinǧâra or the 'Abde. As the Aslam and Tûmân quarrel continually, to traverse their territories with only one *ḫawi* is out of the question. If a traveler meets a Šammari and eats with him, he must nevertheless ask: "Wilt thou give me thy face against the Šammar if I give thee mine against Such-and-Such?" And, if the Šammari agrees, another question is necessary: "Against which Šammar canst thou be my *ḫawi*?" This must be repeated every evening, as a Šammari usually promises for one day only.

The members of the Šarârât tribe, which has no head chief who can dictate to all the clans, *mâ jeḳûl 'alejhom waḥad*, are not secure even against their own fellow tribesmen. Then it pays to be very exact in inquiring whether the *ḫawi* can protect against the whole of his clan or merely against a few kins. A Šarâri *ḫawi*, too, keeps his engagement for one day only. Should the traveler fail to renew the agreement with him, his *ḫawi* may himself rob him on the next day or make common cause with the robbers.

PROTECTION BY REQUEST

Protection granted by request, *daḫḫâla*, is the basis of 577●
all security both of person and property. Whoever is threat- 572
ened by death or loss of property or whoever thinks that he 696
is being wronged asks protection from him who has the power to give it. At the same time it is everyone's duty to give protection when requested to do so. A refusal would imply weakness, would blacken one's honor, and the man who refuses would be derided at all camp fires for his lack of manly courage. It is, of course, true that no one likes to be asked for protection because of the cruel work full of difficulties and trouble that is involved in it.

One who is oppressed personally has to ask protection of someone more powerful or of a member of an important kin; it is sufficient, however, for him to enter the tent of the one whose protection he desires or even its sacred precincts, *muḥârem*. The precincts begin either at the limits of

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

577 hearing distance or at a full spear's length from the farthest tent pegs. When a pursued person cries from afar to the tent owner that he is putting himself under his protection and is heard, the latter is bound to protect him. The term for such an occurrence is *ḥakk aṣ-ṣowt*. On reaching the sacred precincts the pursued man finds himself under the protection of the tent. If he is unable from exhaustion to proceed any farther and remains lying on the ground inside the precincts, no harm may be done to him, as that would be a violation of the tent, *ʿatab al-bejt*. The owner of the tent, his wife, or child shouts:

"Why dost thou violate my protégé? thine eyesight is sharp enough, is it not? *lêh taʿteb ʿala daḫili ent ʿajnak žwijje*. With us the precincts of a tent are recognized as sacred by an old custom; no one would dare to violate it; *al-muḥârem ʿendana ʿâdaten sânijjaten mâ had jakṭaʿha*."

The persecuted man always tries to reach the tent. When he succeeds, he takes hold of the occupant's wife, or a girl there, or holds a baby towards his pursuers, saying:

"The protégé has arrived and saved himself, *daḫal ad-daḫîl w-silem*." The people in the tent, whether men or women, cry: "Our protégé! Stop, respect the tent; stand still! *daḫîlana jammakom al-bejt al-bejt jammakom*." Anyone who injures or kills the protégé inside the tent must compensate the owner for disgracing his tent, *ḥakk bowžt al-bejt*. Disgracing of a tent is punished with greater severity than injury to the face, *eḳṭâʿ al-waǧh*. The distance from the protecting tent to the tent of the culprit is measured by steps, and the latter must give one *ḥežž* camel for every step as compensation for disgracing the tent. If, however, the persecuted man has killed one of the tent owner's near kinsmen, no protection will be given him and he may be killed in the tent itself, even if the woman present at the time were to grant him protection, *daḫḫâla*. This proceeding is explained and excused by the rousing of the blood, *fowžt ad-damm*, of the kinsmen when they see or hear that one of their number has just been killed.

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Protection obtained in person is followed by the granting of the protection of the countenance. The protégé moves constantly before the countenance of him whose protection he enjoys, *alli daḫal ʿalejh*. Such protection cannot be limited but must be given a wide interpretation, *ad-daḫḫâla mamdûde mâ ḥi maḥdûde*; therefore there is never any dispute as to

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

its validity. To deny having been asked for protection or to try to rid oneself of the obligation would be considered a disgrace. For one of the chief marks of gentility, *mruwwa*, of a Bedouin is the granting of protection when it is asked for. The man who grants protection, *daḫḫâla*, must forthwith announce it in the whole camp and even in all the camps around: "Let none dare to come near So-and-So! Know ye that he has put himself under our protection! Whoever harms him will pay us the price of our countenance!"

It is also possible to obtain protection for animals in dispute. In this case the oppressed party leads the animal into the sacred precincts of the tent, or at least brings a handful of hair cut from its tail, *halab leh helbe*. In the latter case the protector, taking the hair, then goes to the herd in which the animal in dispute is kept and, having recognized it by its clipped tail, leads it before his tent. Nobody dares to touch it there until the dispute is settled.

Typical Cases of the Granting of Protection and its Consequences

Blejhân eben Żeri told the following story: "We, the Ḳmuṣa men, were camping in the al-Mijâh valley. There was not much water in the wells. Medbaṛ eben 'Abdallâh watered his sheep and goats, *ṛanameh*, from a well. Belhân eben Mnaẓẓel brought his flock to the same well and tried to drive Medbaṛ away. Enraged, the latter attacked Belhân, *saṭa' beh*, fell upon him, *adlah beh*, with a saber, and cut off his nose, so that it hung only by a bit of skin and later had to be sewn on with the hair of a virgin. Medbaṛ, leaving his flock, then ran into our tent, that is of the Eben Żeri, and shouted:

'Behold, I call on Allâh and all of you to protect me from the face of my cousin, so that he will not attack me!'

"We ran out of the tent and warned them, *naḏahna 'alejhom*: 'Let nobody come near Medbaṛ and his kin. He has asked for our protection and is our protégé.' Then we mounted our camels, surrounded all the tents belonging to Medbaṛ's kin, helped them strike them, and conducted them to the settled territory, *ṛurrabna*, on the Euphrates, where we crossed the river, *'abarna*, and encamped in al-Ǧezire. Some time later the wounded man, *alli mesṭijen beh*, watered his flock in the Euphrates and saw a relative of the assailant, *as-aḍi*, who, as it was the time of

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

577 627 the greatest heat of the day, was just resting with his flock, *mžajjel bṛanameh*. Suddenly Belhân seized his heavy club, *madrûb*, jumped at this relative of Medbaṛ, and beat him till he fell down insensible. When it was reported to us, we at once rode to the river and took Belhân to task:

'Thou knowest that he is under our protection. Why dost thou insult our face? Why dost thou beat thy cousin?'

"He replied: 'O brothers, his fate has overtaken him, *amreh ṣâr*.' But we went straight to his kin, *naḥarna haleh*, compelled them to come with us, and took all their tents and flocks just as if they were enemies as compensation for our lost face, *w-aḥaḏnâḥom aḥḏ al-ḳowmâni ḥakk waġhana ḥelâlhom w-bujûthom*. Then, lodging them, in our tents for the time being, we gave them this advice, *w-ašarna 'alejhom šowren*:

'If you make up the quarrel, behold! we shall give you these flocks; if not, we shall keep all as the price of our face and shall return nothing to you, *mâ nanṭîh*.' We had them all assembled, *lajjemnâhom*, in our chief's tent. Medbaṛ and Belhân also appeared, each with his surety:

'Medbaṛ, wilt thou be reconciled with thy cousin?'

'I will, *žâbleh*.'

'Turn to, *anḥed*, thy surety!'

'I turn to 'Abṭân.'

'Wilt thou be reconciled, 'Abṭân?'

'I will.'

'Dost thou vouch for the reconciliation?'

'I do.'

"Next we asked Belhân: 'Wilt thou be reconciled with thy cousin?'

'I will.'

'Who is thy surety?'

'Râzi.'

'Will Ṛâzi guarantee that Belhân will keep peace?'

'I do.'

'Lay aside your arms, then embrace and kiss!' This they did and became reconciled, and we now could give back to Belhân's kin all that we had taken from them as the price of our face."

Za'al eben Ṛâzi of the Ḳmuṣa subdivision of the Sba'a tribe had a son; Nejtûl eben Ǧdejjân was the father of a daughter. Za'al and Nejtûl were the sons of two different fathers but of the same mother. Za'al reserved Nejtûl's daughter for his

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

son, claiming the cousin's right to his cousin. Nejtûl denied 577 ●
that the cousin's right was involved in this case, and his 627
daughter declared that she would never marry Za'al's son. Za'al then began to persecute Nejtûl in such a hostile manner that the latter had to seek refuge in Ṛaṭwân eben Meršed's tent and to ask his protection. Ṛaṭwân, sending for Za'al, said to him:

"Count thine ancestors till thou findest one who is both thine and Nejtûl's. Then ask for his daughter, and I myself will bring her to thee, if necessary, with a saber in my hand, *atakaffaha jammak bes-sejf raṣban.*"

Za'al began to count: "Râzi, the son of Ṣabr, the son of Sâjer, the son of Farağ, the son of Murabbeṭ — and Murabbeṭ is the fifth ancestor of Nejtûl." After this Za'al brought five pack camels: a five-year-old, *rubâ'*, a four-year-old, *ṭeni*, a three-year-old, *ğed'*, a two-year-old, *ḥeżż*, and a yearling, *mafrûd*, and, making them kneel before Ṛatwân's tent, spoke thus:

"O Ḳmuṣa, here ye see five ancestors connecting me with Nejtûl. I call you as witnesses. *Jâ ḳmuṣa tarâkom šâhedîn 'ala 'adad al-ğdûd tarâhen nâjeḥât.*" Here Nejtûl, turning to Ṛaṭwân, interposed:

"Za'al's son does not belong to my kin; he is not a cousin of my daughter and therefore cannot have her for five camels. Behold, I, thy protégé, demand such gifts as, according to ancient custom, are given in such cases, *al-muḳalledât.* Make Za'al bring also earrings valued at eight pounds, *tarâči bṭamân nêrât*, a necklace, *ṭowḳ*, the pendants to the necklace, *ma'âneż*, and also enough silk and cotton stuffs, so that I could walk on them from thy tent to mine."

When Ṛaṭwân repeated Nejtûl's demands to Za'al, he refused them indignantly, saying that *al-muḳalledât* gifts had long been out of fashion.

"I let thee know my protégé's demands and ask thee to comply with them. If thou thinkest that the *al-muḳalledât* gifts are no longer given, bring me thine opinion confirmed by the judge Eben Ṛubejn and I shall believe thee. But if Eben Ṛubejn decides that thou must give what Nejtûl demands, then bring a surety that thou wilt do it; otherwise Nejtûl will marry his daughter to whomsoever he sees fit."

"Well, then, let Eben Ṛubejn decide according to the law. Snejdân is my surety. Come, Snejdân, grasp my moustache

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

577 627 with both hands and declare in my name that I will give all that Nejtûl asks, if Eben Ṛubejn decides that the *al-muḳalledât* gifts must be given."

Snejdân then held both ends of his moustache in his fingers and Za'al promised to give Nejtûl all he demanded, if Eben Ṛubejn should decide by affixing his seal that *al-muḳalledât* were lawful. Going to Eben Ṛubejn, he soon returned with a decision in the affirmative. But, as neither Nejtûl nor Ṛaṭwân would abate anything of their demands, Za'al gave up his claim to Nejtûl's daughter, and she afterwards married another man.

A certain Rwejli was given to quarreling. Once he quarreled over a camel with a man more powerful than himself. Unable to obtain his right, he cut off a handful of hair from her tail, brought it to Sa'dûn eben Me'ǧel, and said:

"Behold, this hair asks God's and thy protection in a matter of right!"

"Be it so, thou owner of the camel! The right should be helped to grow freely, for a just dispute must go on its well trodden road."

Then Sa'dûn mounted his mare, took the hair with him, and, accompanied by his slaves, rode to the herd of the disturber of the right, *ḳaṭṭâ' al-ḥaḳḳ*. The slaves soon found the camel with the clipped tail and began to drive her away. Alarmed by his herdsman's cries, the disturber of the right galloped up on his mare; but Sa'dûn shouted at him:

"Wilt thou let thy cousin have his right?"

"No."

"Know, then, that I shall help him to obtain it."

Having said this, he gave the she-camel to his protégé and dismissed him with the words: "In future protect thy camels thyself. May God protect me from all the evil thou causest by thine incessant quarreling!"

428 627 577 695 The parents of a married woman who had no other heirs died leaving a large herd of camels. The daughter wished to get at least two she-camels out of the estate, but the relatives of the dead couple refused to permit it, and she had to return to her tent in disgrace, *rawwaḥat ḫaǧlâna 'ala bejtha*. Not long afterwards the camp was moved to another place, and while she was pitching a tent she saw her parents' camels passing by. Running towards the herd, she selected two young she-camels, drove them to Ḳrejṭân eben al-Hûm's tent, and,

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

making them kneel there, shouted to Ḳrejṭân: "Behold, of God and of thee I ask protection for these she-camels, as they are the property of my *ahl*, kin, by right." No sooner had she said this than one of her relatives came running to her and, rolling his eyes in a frenzy, *ṭâjerât ʿajûneh*, tried to drive the animals away. But the protector spoke sternly:

"Stand still, fellow! Art thou blind? I was asked to protect them. Not until thou allowest right to take its course and they are adjudged to thee, canst thou have them. *Jammak jâ zelema ent ʿamjân ḥaḏôlen mdaḫḫalât ʿalejji bel-ḥaḳḳ elja-mšejt al-ḥaḳḳ w-ṣârat lak ḫoḏhen.*" The woman then chose a security, who took her opponent to the *ʿârefa* judge, ʿAwejnân eben Saʿîd:

"Tell your story, *eḥtečû*," ordered the judge. The woman's representative began:

"What dost thou think, O ʿAwejnân, of a woman crushed by the will of God? *wêš ʿendak bel-ḥurma maḳṭûʿat aṣ-ṣejḥa.* We wish, if it be God's will, that thou shouldst not deprive her of her share of her parents' estate."

The opponent argued thus: "What dost thou think, ʿAwejnân eben Saʿîd, of a wedded woman, *alli birḳubet ar-raǧǧâl*, who wants to divide with me the herd of my relatives? *tabi tḫâšerni beḥalâl hali.* And yet she is no desolate orphan, having a noble husband living and two sons; *w-hâḏi mâ hi jetîme alḥin hi birḳubet ar-raǧǧâl w-laha waladejn.* I desire of God and of thee that thou deprivest her of the share of the herd of my *ahl*."

ʿAwejnân declared: "A case like this has been already decided. That decision is more than five years old and is therefore valid for this woman too. Both she-camels are hers."

In the spring of 1899 the Ḥwêṭât, *sanat al-ḥwêṭât*, attacked the Ḳmuṣa in their camp at al-Ḳrejjât. The latter resisted bravely, but it was long before the enemy was finally beaten off. Many warriors were killed and many wounded. One of the Ḥwêṭât, while fleeing, shot dead the grandson of Eben Ḳardûš. Then, realizing that it was impossible to escape, he drove his horse right into the Ḳmuṣa camp, leapt intoRšejd eben Meṣreb's tent, and asked for protection, *ṭâḥ bel-bejt w-daḫal ad-daḫîl w-silem.*Ršejd's daughter shouted instantly to the pursuers:

"Stand still! There is a tent before you. He is our protégé," and sent a female slave for her father.Ršejd, though he was

727 wounded in the left hand and bespattered with blood, posted himself in front of his tent and liberated the Ḥwêṭi, *fakkeh*, 577 from the enraged crowd. But no sooner did Eben Ḳardûš learn that the enemy who had slain his grandson was in Ršejd's ṭent, than he came there galloping on his mare and offered Ršejd twenty camels if he would deliver the Ḥwêṭi to him. Ršejd declined with these words:

"Wouldst thou tarnish my tent, *mâ tebûž bejti*, so that I should become an object of contempt? *atašajje' beh*."

Protection of Enemy Who Voluntarily Surrenders

727 The Bedouins hate to shed blood and therefore spare the lives of their enemies as much as possible. Thus, when repulsing an attack and pursuing an enemy, they urge him to surrender, *ḳâmow jamna'ûn*, with the words:

"Yield it (thy mare, camel, or arms) for thy neck as long as I can help thee, *ruddha 'ala rḳubtak meṭûli anfa'ak*."

The enemy answers: "Lay God on me! *ḥoṭṭ 'alejji allâh*."

"God on thee! *'alejk allâh*."

"I yield."

An enemy who has surrendered voluntarily is called *manî'*, pardoned or saved, because his adversary has pardoned him and saved his life, *mana'eh 'an ruḳubteh 'an aḏ-ḏabeḥ*.) All the possessions of such a *manî'*, such as his horse, camel, clothes, arms, etc., become the property of his captor. The latter, however, lets him keep them for a while, merely taking the precaution of giving the *manî'* his headband, kerchief, or jacket as a sign and a warning, *amûrijje*, that nobody must harm him. The pardoner, *mâne'*, then throws himself into the fight anew, and not until the victory is complete will he look for his *manî'* in order to take him and the booty to his tent. There he despoils the captive of anything he desires and then dismisses him with a gift of some kind. Yet sometimes the *manî'* chooses to break his word and tries to escape. If his animal is unwounded and the fighters draw away to some distance, he creeps out of the enemy's troop and flees into the desert, *jeḥoṭṭ al-ḳowm šanaḳ w-jenîr al-ḥala'*. On his return home, *elja' ṭabb 'ala haleh*, he will send, at the next opportunity, the part of the dress received from the *mâne'* back to him. A pardoned *manî'* of this kind is called *bâjež*, faithless. This will not injure him much with his fellow tribes-

men, but among the enemy he must, if recaptured, expect death, as no one will pardon him again. 727

Bâjež, faithless, is also said of one who attacks a friend. Such a stain fell on the name of the Rwala when, in the spring of 1898, they attacked the ʿEbede in al-Ḳaʿra. The ʿEbede, under the chief Barǧas eben Hdejb, asked Eben Šaʿlân for peace. This was granted, and the messengers returned home in the evening; but on the following morning Eben Šaʿlân's, Eben Meʿǧel's, and Eben Mǧejd's warriors attacked Barǧas' camp again and completely looted it. To excuse himself Eben Šaʿlân asserted that this particular troop had left twenty days before on a raid against the ʿAmârât in the vicinity of Kerbela but, when repulsed, attacked the ʿEbede on their way home, in ignorance of the fact that peace had just been concluded. The ʿEbede, however, do not believe this subterfuge but still maintain that they were attacked treacherously, *bâḳowhom bowḳa*, and, whenever they sight a Rwejli in the desert, they utter their battle cry, *jentaḥûn*: "I am a rider protecting the ʿArfa herds, I a Sbêʿi. O those faithless ones! O those blackened faces! Have you forgotten the peace dinner? *Ḥajjâl al-ʿarfa sbêʿi al-bowḳân sowdân al-wǧîh wên mṛaddâkom.*" A breach of faith is always condemned, for it is punished by God. Hence the saying: "A faithless one will never rise above the dogs, *râʿ al-bowḳ mâ jarḳaʾ fowḳ al-člâb.*" 577 727

PROTECTION IN CASES OF THIEVERY

To despoil a stranger belonging to a tribe not related to one's own is a proof of cunning and strength. But no chief will stoop to stealing. It is usually the sons of poorer families who go out in twos or threes to steal or to rob. A thief on foot is called *ḥâjef* or *ḥanšûli*; if mounted on horse or camel he is known as *muʿajjer*. When the *maʿâjîr* arrive near the enemy's camp they hide and try to acquaint themselves with the whole terrain. After sunset they leave their horses or she-camels in a safe place and crawl near to the tents. One of them remains at a certain spot about five hundred paces from the tents; the other advances cautiously till he finds a good horse or a she-camel which he thinks worth stealing. If he succeeds, he hurries back with the capture to his comrade and then to the place where their own animals are hidden. Tying the stolen animals to their own, he then leads them all 579 674

579 a few hundred meters farther but away from the place where
674 his comrade is stationed. The latter keeps his place at least one hour longer, waiting to see if by chance the theft has been discovered in the camp. Should an alarm be given and search made for the stolen animals, he tries to attract attention to himself and then leads the pursuers in a different direction from that taken by his comrade, until, after eluding them altogether, he makes haste to join him. Then, mounting the captured animal, he makes his escape while the pursuers are following the wrong scent.

685 If a thief is seen crawling near, he may be shot at sight. If he is caught, his captors beat him, *jaḳtolûneh*, revile him, *jaṣaḥmûneh*, and, if he is unknown to them, tie him fast to prevent him from running away and stealing something after all. After sunrise breakfast is given him and he is free to go wherever he wishes. In case the thief with the stolen mare escapes and his watching comrade is caught, *ḳaẓîb*, the latter may be killed on the spot but must not be held in fetters to compel his comrade to return the stolen animal.

681 Fettering is not an established custom, *mâ hi 'âdaten sâni-*
609 *jaten*, among friends. A member of a hostile tribe, when caught in camp at night, is generally put in the irons used for fettering a mare's forelegs in the evening, and he is then called *rabîṭ*. In order to save his life he must offer some animals of his herd as a ransom. In this case it is said that "the captive sent his movable property instead of his neck, *ar-rabîṭ ḳallaṭ ḥalâleh židdâm rukubteh*."

● 577 To steal from a fellow tribesman or even from a neighbor
626 is considered a disgrace. A thief of this type is called *bawwâḳ*,
672 *neṭûl*, or *nedû'*. No one will suffer him to come to his tent. Should he enter a tent in another camp, any one knowing him will instantly call the owner's attention to him: "This man is a *bawwâḳ*. Let him not sleep in your place! *Hâda bawwâḳ lâ tḥallûh jamraḥ 'endakom*." However, if his sons are known to be honest, they are not made to suffer for their father's shame.

685 If anyone can show indisputable proofs that a fellow
627 tribesman has stolen, for instance, a firearm from him and if the other denies it, the robbed man takes two or three of the offender's camels, drives them before the tent of a more powerful neighbor, and, after obtaining his protection for them, *adḥalhen 'alejh*, brings his witnesses. The protector must then

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

aid him in obtaining his rights, *jimašši-l-ḥakk*. First he goes to the accused and asks him to return the stolen weapon or to declare on *ǧehîra* oath (see above, p. 430) that he has stolen nothing. Should he refuse to do either, the protector will declare: "Behold! So-and-So resists, although the weapon belonging to X is in his belly. The she-camels for whom the latter has asked my protection from this day are his own. Beware everyone who would take them away from him. Behold! they stand before my face."

His honor, his good name are the principal motives of a Rwejli's charity. There is nothing he fears as much as dishonor to his good name and a reflection on his character, or, as he says, the blackening of his face. Should he fail to guard his protégé effectually, to get compensation for him who walks before his countenance, should he disregard his guest: in all these cases he is threatened with the blackening of his face. The wronged man then ties a black rag to a long stick or to a spear and cries:

"This is the black flag of So-and-So. I put myself under his protection and he has not freed me; I suffered loss before his face; I was his guest and he has not fed me. May Allâh blacken his face! *Hâḏi ṛâje sowda' flân eben flân daḥalt 'alejh w-lâ fakkni râḥ rizḳi bwağheh mâ 'aššâni sawwad allâh wağheh.*" Naturally the people are eager to learn the details and on hearing them run to the accused to mete out justice.

PROTECTION FROM OPPRESSORS; RECOGNITION OF BENEFACTORS

If a man of power oppresses a weaker one and the latter is unable to defend his honor himself, he ties a piece of black tent cloth to a stick or spear, rides around the camp of his kin, and shouts:

"My friends, O ye people who give protection! know ye that my face has been insulted by the powerful So-and-So; *rab'i jâ hla-l-ḥamijje ḳaṭṭa' wağhi flân al-belijje.*"

This is a sign to his kinsmen to mount their horses or camels and to parade before him shouting their battle cry, *je'arzûn 'endeh w-jentaḥûn*: "X, behold, here I stand before thee, O X! *jâ flân 'ajnêk* [sic] *jâ flân.*"

When all are assembled, they tear up and throw away the black flag, surround the tent of their powerful neighbor,

578 and compel him both to right the wrong done and to give
602 compensation.

When he has complied with every demand, the powerful
627 man now asks his weaker opponent to declare this publicly. When that is done, he ties a white cloth, *šowra*, to a stick or spear, just as was done with the black material before, and makes a circuit of all the camps in the vicinity, waving his flag and crying:

"We have done our duty, *kaẓejna lâzemna*."

This he does in order to inform all the wronged one's relatives that a reconciliation has been effected, for otherwise he might be attacked by some of them. Moreover, he wants all his fellow tribesmen to know that no further reproach may be brought against him.

703 A white flag is also flown by a grateful enemy in honor
●577 of his benefactor. Whoever on a raid or in a fierce fight or when being pursued has been saved from certain death, on his return flies a white flag in front of his chief's tent and says:

"So-and-So — may Allâh whiten his face! — on a day when life was nearing its end and death was stepping forward, saved the neck which moves here before you. Oh, may Allâh whiten his face! *Flân bajjaz allâh waǧheh jowm akfat al-ḥajja w-akbalat al-menijje fakk ar-ruḳubat al-mâlijje.*"

Then two of the assembly stand up, inquiring: "Whose is the white flag flying here? *lemin hal-bêẓa al-mabnijje.*"

"It belongs to So-and-So, may Allâh whiten his face!"

"We testify that he is deserving of a white flag. He is a brave youth who acted, as he did, with deliberation. Hail to him, by Allâh himself! *Jistâhel al-bêẓa ṛlâmen ʿana-lha w-hejh hejh jâ lallâh.*"

From the chief's tent the news of the honored man's deeds spreads through the whole camp, the guests present, of course, bring the news to other camps, and before a month is out the main topic of conversation at all the camp fires for hundreds of kilometers around is the story of how X has saved Y from certain death.

BEGGARS; LOST ARTICLES

735 There are no beggars among the Rwala. An impoverished man is helped by his kin, his clan, and the chief. And yet sometimes beggars are to be seen walking through the camps.

Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

When, before the expiration of the three and a third days allotted to the guest's protection, he finds hospitality in one or even two other tents, the first host's duty to protect him, *ʿeddet al-waǧh*, is by no means ended. Should any wrong be done to him, he first goes to the one of his hosts whom he believes to have the least power. If the latter knows that the accused man holds a stronger position than he with all his kin he says:

"I could do nothing against them. Hasten to thine other host; his saber will reach them all. *Haḍowla-na mâ aḳwa' ʿalejhom enhaǧ ila' muʿzeb̄k ṛejri sejfeh ṭâjel ʿala-l-ǧamîʿ*."

But if the guest has only one host, who is not very powerful, whilst his violator is a member of a powerful kin, the host with all his kin will conduct the guest to a prominent chief, put himself under his protection, and in this manner fulfill his obligation. No chief would think of refusing to protect a man so situated, since it is the duty of the strong to protect the weak, or, as is said in the desert: "The big horses protect the small ones, *ṭwâl al-ḥejl teḥmi ḳṣâraha*," or again: "The weak seeks the protection of the strong, and no one that is weak must be injured, as long as there is a strong man among men; *aẓ-ẓaʿîf jelûḏ bel-ḳwi w-lâ jeẓâm ẓaʿîf w-ben-nâs ḳawi*."

When a guest is found killed, the person finding him reports it to the host with whom he stayed in the last three and a third days, who is then bound to make a search for the murderer. If it is proved that the deed was committed by a fellow tribesman of the host, the latter will compel him to pay the blood price. If the murderer was a stranger, the host will simply send word to his relatives: "Your brother was killed by So-and-So."

After sunrise of the fourth day the host's duty of protection terminates, and he himself may then attack and rob his departed guest.

POEMS RELATING TO GUESTS AND HOSPITALITY

A Rweǧli of generous disposition likes to receive guests. They will tell him all kinds of news, praise his generosity in other camps, and furnish him with the opportunity of showing his power should anything befall them. There are poems giving evidence of this.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER XIX

PERSONAL QUALITIES

A chief who is commonly spoken of as a *ṣâḥeb al-mar-ʿa* stands in high esteem among the Rwala. Such a one has a brave, strong heart, *ḳalbeh ḳawi*; knows how to wrestle with the greatest danger, *maʿeh fetel*; has a broad outlook, *maʿeh ʿerf*; thinks of the future, *šôfteh baʿîde*; and never acts hastily, *leh ṣabr*. He who is merely a daring fighter, *ṣâḥeb al-farse*, is not fit to be either a chief or a leader in time of war. He, too, has a strong heart but lacks calm consideration, *mâ leh ṣabr*, therefore he throws himself into danger recklessly, unmindful of victory or death; *ʿirmi ḥâleh jâ jiḳtel žebîleh jâ jinḳatel*.

But the most popular among the chiefs is the *ṣâḥeb al-mruwwa*. He is kind, *kerîm*; truthful, *ḥabîb allâh*; disregards trifles, *saḫi*; and knows no distinction between great and small. Of such the proverb says: "A wolf does not suffer hunger with him, neither do his sheep perish; *lâ jiǧû' aḏ-ḏîb w-lâ tifna-l-ṛanam*." As examples of such a *ṣâḥeb al-mruwwa* Ḳufṭân eben Ḥâmed of the Beni Ṣaḫr and Haǧer eben Meǧwel of the Rwala were named to me.

A generous man is universally esteemed, as he is often visited by guests who then carry his fame far and wide. They say that it is easy for a wealthy man to be generous, because the word generosity is derived from what a man possesses, *al-ǧûd min al-mawǧûd*. According to others generosity must be inborn. He that does not inherit generosity from his parents will always be a miser, even if he has more wealth than he knows what to do with, *al-ǧûd min al-ǧdûd*.

Aš-šime is among the most prominent qualities of a famous man. It is but rarely found, and the man possessing it excels all others in the same way as the head projects above the body. He who has *aš-šime* will not always insist on his rights, gladly yielding to one weaker than himself and sometimes giving up his claim to a thing which clearly belongs to him. *Jetašajjam ʿan aš-ši* means "he gave up a thing," or "he did not take a thing although evidently his." Without *aš-šime* no *râʿ al-mruwwa* is perfect.

577 Seemly behavior is esteemed by the Rwala. The proverb: *"Ar-raǧol ja'ref metabbeh*, a true man knows how to behave," is frequently heard. The meaning of the word *raǧol* is very similar to that of the word *âdemi*, which either signifies all men as the sons of Adam or well mannered men of pleasant behavior. The word *raǧǧâl* is used in connection with a man who excels by prudence and bravery, thus: *"Met'eb raǧǧâl*, Met'eb, that is a man!" A *raǧǧâl jeswa 'orbân* is a man as good as many Arab clans put together: *"W-allâh hw raǧǧâlen mliḥ*, by Allâh, he is a hero!" It is also said: *"Ar-reǧâl mâ hi killeha raǧǧâl biha raǧol w-raǧǧâl wa-rǧêǧîl w-reǧǧareǧǧa*; not all men are heroes; there are among them true men, heroes, helpers of women, and chatterers." Here *rǧêǧîl*, or *reǧêǧîl*, implies that, although having a moustache, *šwâreb*, he occupies himself rather with things that belong to women. *Reǧǧareǧǧa* or *reǧreǧǧa* is a coward who babbles like a woman. *Reǧâl* often signifies brave men. A woman attacked by robbers shouts: *"Îdekom îdekom warâji reǧâl*; your hands, your hands [they must not take anything from me], there are brave men behind me!" The men of some families have the reputation: *"W-allâh hom reǧâlen zênîn maẓbûṭîn*, by Allâh, they are true men!" *Raǧâǧîl* means men regardless of their qualities. Up to ten the plural *reǧâl* or *raǧâǧîl* is used; for a larger number *zelm*. *"Jammakom jâ zelm*, stand still, ye men!" *Zlema* is an unknown man. *Azlâm* is another expression for a number of men not exceeding ten, but usually the words *zelm* or *zilm* are used as the plural.

577 828 Noble qualities are inherited; therefore every Rwejli aims at winning a wife from an old and honorable family. It is often said of a noble but otherwise unknown man: *"Hw min âlen 'atîž mâ hw min hajallah nâs*; he comes of an old family, then surely not of riffraff."

'Arreb wulejdak 'arrebeh
w-an-nâr min mižbâseha
w-al-'ezz be'urûḳ an-nisa'
alli 'ariben asâseha.

By every means try to beget a thoroughbred son,
For as the fire depends on its foundation
So nobility is in the veins of women
Who are of pure blood descended.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

'Arîb signifies the same as *aṣîl*, pure-blooded, well-born, noble. Whoever desires a thoroughbred son must beget him by a woman descended of a good family. The man resembles a fire, the woman a foundation. When a fire is lighted by a woman in a tent, the women from other tents send their daughters or servant girls to fetch fire from her. Each of these girl twists a wisp of dry *šîḥ*, *ṛaẓa'*, or *ṛṭa*, grasps the red-hot coal in her hand, puts it into the wisp, and swings this in the air till it ignites. If the foundation, in this case the wisp, *mižbâs*, be not dry, no amount of swinging will make the red coal burst into flame. *'Ezz* means good qualities, bravery in particular. *'Ezz* proceeds from the veins of a woman. *Asâs* or *nasab* expresses the woman's origin. The daughter of a worthless, pusillanimous father will not have *'ezz*, nobility, in her veins; therefore it cannot be expected in her son, even if begotten by the bravest of men.

Criminal intercourse with animals is almost unknown among the Rwala, as is that of one man with another, the penalty in this case being the death of the violator or of both. In the Ḳmuṣa division a negro, who came there from Eben Rašîd's army, violated a small boy far from the tents. On the boy's complaint, his kin ran to catch the slave who made his escape. They would certainly have killed him.

POEMS DEPICTING QUALITIES AND DEEDS OF MEN

Vigilance and Energy

1. *Jâ-llâh ṭalabtak jâ serî' al-maṭâbe*
   teftaḥ lena bâb-al-faraǧ bel-mefâtiḥ
2. *ṭalbet 'obejden 'enda rabbeh w-ṭâbeh*
   jâ ḥâležen rizḳ al-'arab w-al-falâliḥ
3. *an-nowm sâs al-lowm bân ar-reda' beh*
   w-'ajnen tebi-ṭ-ṭowlât nowmeh šelâfiḥ
4. *alli jirid al-mêdeh jit'ab rečâbeh*
   w-ar-rizḳ beṭûl al-ḥaṭa' jâ-hla-l-fiḥ
5. *jidûk 'ajrât an-neza' be'akâbeh*
   w-ad-daww jiḳṭa'enneh 'aṣêren beterwiḥ
6. *mâ fowḳha illa' žirbeten ma' zahâbeh*
   w-eefájefen tabrâh lown al-maiâwiḥ

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

"Go to So-and-So and get an abatement of the blood price for us!" 628

To this the chiefs generally agree readily. They call on the avenger proper, who according to custom prepares a meal for them and invites them to eat, with the words: "Say the name of Allâh over your meal, *sammow 'ala zâdkom*"; they answer:

"We shall not do so before thou givest us what we have come for, *henna mâ nesammi kowd alli ḥawwalna leh tanṭejnah*."

"May Allâh preserve your life! Whatever ye may wish stands before you. *Ḥajjâkom allâh alli tabṛn 'enda waǧhakom*."

Here the first chief interjects: "How many she-camels wilt thou give to me?"

"I will give thee five!"

"O Allâh, dost thou esteem me so low?"

The host obligingly raises his offer. The other chiefs, too, ask for something and then declare that they will present all the animals they receive to the culprits.

No chief or surety must ask or accept compensation for aiding those who carry on the blood feud in defense of the culprit, for that would stain his honor. His sole reward is the public acknowledgment that he has been instrumental in doing good, *msajjer ḥsane*, and preventing fresh shedding of blood. The guilty party show their gratitude to their protectors in various ways. They like best of all to raise a white flag over the tent of the culprit proper, where they leave it for several days and ride around the camp shouting: [577] •

"May Allâh whiten So-and-So's face! may he exalt his name both in this world and hereafter!"

The returning culprits are welcomed by their fellow tribesmen with equestrian mock battles, merry feasting, and cries of joy, *zaṛârit*. For do not they return who might have been lost forever?

The blood price of a man, *medda rkaba*, from a related tribe is one mare, fifty she-camels, and a complete rider's equipment. For the blood of a woman no more than twenty-five she-camels is paid, because a woman is never valued as highly as a man, *mâ hi miṯl az-zelema nâḳeṣa 'an az-zelema*. The compensation for a man from an alien tribe is only seven camels. [435 562]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

erves for special journeys. 3. *Rbâ'* is a tent for men only. Nothing but coffee is made there. Other dishes are prepared by the women in another tent, where they also live. Among the 'Amârât and Dahâmše tribes every chief has two tents put up, one for men, the other for women. *Bimdâḥel* is pronounced *imdâhel*. The Dahâmše often replace the *ḥ* with *h*. 4. Ğezzâ' ben Meğlâd, a relative of Hâjes, was the war leader, *šejḥ aš-dâd*, of the Dahâmše. 5. *Membâh* is something which we learn through others. 6. *Naḥwa* is the war cry of a kin; a warrior *entaḥi*, when he shouts his war cry before the chief or his comrades to prove that he will not desert them; an oppressed man *enḥa'*, when he shouts the war cries of some prominent men, calling them to his aid. Whoever hears his own war cry uttered by an oppressed man feels ashamed and has to give help or else lose his reputation. 7. The traveling companions were his relatives, with whom he was riding to buy corn in as-Samâwa on the right bank of the lower Euphrates. 8. The poet associates with strangers, the Rwala. Even if they were fellow tribesmen, *beni al-'amm*, yet they would not protect him as would his *ahl*, his kin. 9. Fahad's father was Hâjes eben Meğlâd, universally recognized as the best judge, *'ârefa*. 10. Muḥammad eben Turki, the chief of a powerful kin. 11. Ẓâri eben Ẓbej'ân, an influential chief of the Dahâmše. *Zebûn*, instead of *zeben*, shelter or protector. *Aṭ-ṭib* means a struggle, a contest or duel, with the stoutest hero of the enemy. 13. Maš'ân eben Bakr calls the camel herds belonging to his kin Ğahla, hence his war cry: *"Ana-ḥu ğaḥla eben bakr*, I am the brother of Ğahla, I am Eben Bakr!" *Radijje* is a common mare, *kdiš*. 14. *Flân meḏhaḇeh* (pl., *meḏâheb) ẓajjeẑ*, or *ṣid-reh ẓajjeẑ*, is a narrow-breasted person, or one easily offended, who remains so for a long time; one who cannot exhale the anger from his breast. 16. Second cousins separated by two generations from their common ancestor, their great-grandfather, are included in the *ahl* proper or the kin bound to afford one another mutual protection.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

the march travelers unknown to them and later discover they were their friends. 727

To spend the night in the camp of a friendly clan which maintains amicable relations with the plundered clan is not allowed.

The Rwala bury their dead friends; their wounded they carry off on their camels, having first bandaged their wounds as best they can. To the dead enemy no attention is paid. At the same time whoever has swept an enemy from the saddle and sees him writhing on the ground is obliged, as a man of honor, to help him. Should he kill an enemy in that condition, *ṭarîḥ*, he would commit a dishonorable deed, *'ajb*, in the same manner as he who kills a man he has pardoned, or one sleeping, or a woman, or child. Likewise it is considered shameful to attack a related tribe, even if hostile, after the appearance of the morning star, *bejât*, or to cripple or kill captured animals when to escape with them proves impossible, *feda' bel-ḥalâl*. 727 577

The successful bringing of captured herds from a distant territory to the home camp is the highest proof of a leader's sagacity, especially if he undertakes raids against tribes encamped as far as 600-800 kilometers away. A prudent leader will at once separate the camel calves from the grown animals and have them driven back; he will occupy the more important mountain passes and try to retreat through a country where the camels will find sufficient pasture. If he returns with the booty without any considerable losses, everybody talks of booty and success, *časab w-salâme*, but if the booty is taken away from him by some ambushing party on the way, the raiders come back, one after another, very much depressed, for besides having gained nothing they have lost many comrades, *ḫasâra*. If the defiles have been occupied they can march and rest at their leisure, for, as they say, "our little brothers follow in our tracks, *ḫwijjâna kẓabaw aṯârna*." The troop following the returning raiders and protecting them against the pursuers, *ṭalab*, is called *kaẓb*. 727

Returning Raiders' Songs

As soon as the returning warriors feel safe, they intone ditties, *ḥda'*, appropriate to such occasions; *elja kfejna naḥada'* (sic). 727 533

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

703 554 they are informed of the youth's heroism. If during an attack an otherwise worthy youth does not stand his ground, the gray feathers are covered by black ones as a sign that for the first time he has not behaved in a manner befitting his honor. *Ḫaṭw* means "many a one." *'Alejh šarha*: he was depended on; *kunt maśrûhen 'alejh*: I depended on him.

539x

Aṣ'un la'ajni ṣâḥebi
w-aṭni la'ajni 'andeli
ḳalbi ṛada beh ṣâḥebi
minni 'aṭijjat ğandali.

To aid my sweetheart I wish to stab,
And I will stab also to help my thoroughbred mare;
Of my heart my beloved took possession.
She received it from me like a Ğandal's gift which is never returned.

'Andelijje is a thoroughbred white mare; in poetical language this expression is used instead of *aṣîle*. *Ṛada beh* and *aḫaḏeh*, he took him, have the same meaning. Anything a father has given may be demanded back by the son. However, if any member of the Eben Ğandal kin makes a gift, nobody, as will be explained below, may ask for its return. Therefore, he who wishes to make his gift secure, gives it first to a member of the Eben Ğandal kin, who then hands it to the person for whom it was intended.

[431]

Aṭ'an la'ajni bint eben ḳublân
oḫt alladi zabn aṭ-ṭarîḥ
al-'ajn 'ajn mušaḏḏar al-ṛuzlân
'ašîžaha mâ jesterîḥ.

I will stab to help Eben Ḳublân's daughter,
The sister of the defender of one from his saddle thrown.
Her eye keeps a sharp lookout like a frightened gazelle;
Her lover will, faith! not have much rest.

Eben Ḳublân is the name of a kin of the al-Ḥsene division, Weld 'Ali tribe. One who assists a comrade thrown from the saddle acts honorably, as by doing so he abandons any booty he might capture and also exposes himself to the danger of being attacked while lifting the fallen man from the ground and placing him on his own horse. The gazelles live

[577]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

726* 539* from a tent other than his master's; also of a man who helps himself from a full platter set before others, without being invited. *Ṛarra* is a thing of value which some man finds and keeps. 13. Eben Ǧrajjed is a chief of the Beni 'Aṭijje. *Ṣafḥa* is the general name of the territory where the Ḥwêṭât, Beni 'Aṭijje, and Šarârât like to camp, because it slopes both east and west. *Tway*: the dead buried. 14. Htejm is the term for the despised clans and tribes, thus also the Šarârât, of whom [714] the poet is thinking. 15. *Šihb* means attacking riders. Before the attack they divest themselves of their mantles and caftans, if they have any, entrust them to their returning comrades, *radd*, and are clothed only in their dirty gray, *šihb*, shirts. 16. Al-'Alja, the name given by the Rwala to their white camel herds. *Medâlîh* or *marâkiż*, swift, flashing, terms applied to the Rwala owing to their mode of delivering attacks in quick succession with the suddenness of lightning. Whenever the sky is enveloped in black clouds, a wind storm rises in the desert, carrying and driving dust, fine sand, and dry plants before it and overturning all tents the pegs and ropes [721 of which are not tight. 18. Eben Hazzâ' — i. e. an-Nûri, the ●577] commander of the Rwala — did not commit treason when he attacked the enemy. His face is without blemish, that is white. *Neḳa'* signifies integrity, honesty, which both parties to a peace treaty have to maintain. The party declaring war, returns the integrity, *neḳa'*, to the other party. He who attacks another without a declaration of war fails to return the *neḳa'* to the attacked party, commits treason, and blackens his honesty, his face. 19. *Nišâma* are gay youths, young heroes; *nešmijje*: a gay beauty, a heroine. *'Aǧǧat* is used alike for a violent passion, for rising dust, and for an approaching throng of raiders. Ḥmâr maintained that *ṣabâha* meant "her youth," but 'Awde pronounced it "*sabâha*." According to Ḥmâr the poet speaks of a gay beauty in whose veins was beating the blood of youth demanding its rights from another man, while 'Awde maintained that the poet expresses his admiration for a beauty who seeks to save, either by hiding or by flight, the camels burdened with household goods, against which a raiding troop, *sabâha*, was advancing, *'aǧǧat*. 22. *Ḥâlât* is an area covered with basalt and lava, where neither horse nor rider can move except by a few narrow paths. The Rwala drove the defeated enemy as far as the borders of such an area. The defeated mourned, the victors sang.